101 /3 cont./
limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 144 101 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 619 174 101 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory (1).

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

/4 cont./

121 Seksâwa, Urika, Gedmiwa, etc., have above all a topographic
619 content (2).
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2. E. Laoust, "Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/," R. E. I., 1939, III-IV, and 1940, I-II, off-print, p. 150. Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 90 sq., had already judiciously distinguished three kinds of groups: the tribe, the village, and the district. He made much use of this last idea, pp. 268 sq. M. Quedenfeldt, Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc /Division and distribution of the Berber population in Morocco/, H. Simon tr., p. 131, notes that between H'âh'a and Ntifa "live tribes that bear all the same names as their principal establishments."

A large part of the sedentary peoples of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ happen to fit the case. These populations are the only ones of the Maghreb, perhaps, whose permanence of settlement can be affirmed over as extended a lapse of time, hence the only ones who offer some guarantee for this kind of supposition.

121 /5/ Posed in this way, the problem is insoluble. In order to
101 clarify it, it is necessary to resort to units far more modest than these names of peoples, the only ones known from the chronicle. It is necessary to resort, on the topographical plane, to the name for the ground; on the human plane, to that of the agnatic group. These are two leading realities there. They will not cease to guide us in all this research. And already, any first analysis of a term like that of Seksâwa makes felt the combination that it effects between a geographic value and and a historic value.

101 The name can deliver more. Today it is perpetuated in its present form. This one seems to have prevailed since the Sâadians.

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited partnership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus: one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

[Idma]
[Ait Lhsen]

619 /48 cont./
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[484] The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most important sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.

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726 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number. But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In modern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-optation, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have remained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias, having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

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/49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen

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13 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there, to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W., symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

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619 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, between which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

/59 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish sources, not very abundant and exterior to the society being considered. On the contrary, the developments that one is going to read below rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

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From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldûn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qaṣṣira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

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Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterprises of the /60/ Saʿdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

174 /60 cont./ some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, improverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128 174 175 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an unhoped-for richness.

619 634 128 613 173 619 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins. No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the different ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competition of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications. The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/70 cont./

173 which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son,
166 who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the
619 roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171]

1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements, C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various ikhs-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagenza descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspring populated not only a part of Tannammert, in present-day Iguntar, but Tinmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagô, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These disjecta
[423] membra preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

166 The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immi-
619 gration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in
[174] any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wawzgit.
[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration, and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance exceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the allogeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
166 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
173 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
776 This is what the hagiology recalls. sidi Mh'and comes from the
619 Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion Sidi Lh'sen is reputed generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, of th[illegible]. Tamment, taps the offerings of several Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material, their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or, if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this continual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world. Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any more than he succumbs.

/71 cont./

Fossil Populations

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Almost everywhere, analysis discovers, beside and on the border of the great groups, residual families, to whom the agricultural augury is granted. Thus, in a. Abdella, these a. Bihi u. Sïid /72/ of unknown origin, and extinct elsewhere. At Ikis, the Amarir, to which have come to be juxtaposed, four centuries ago, immigrants from the a. H'adduyws. Above Ammern is seen a Tagadirt Ikuzza, which is brought together with the Idaw Kazzo (H'ïh'a). Let us also mention the a. Ish'aq, of the middle valley, but also having a branch in a. H'adduyws; the Iqorran of the Idaw Geryun; the ait Chïib; the Ikessan, etc. Special mention must be made of two groups, remains of which are still found in the high valley and whom one frequently finds named in the oldest Seksawa documents. First the a. H'ogg^{w}a. It is said here that they belong to the H'mer. But their name singularly recalls that of a leff of the Sous. The Tah'ogg^{w}at contrasts with the Tagizzult. In Seksawa, these a. Hogg^{w}a were indeed dispossessed by emigrants from the Tagizzult. That is all that can be said for the moment. Let us also observe the a. Umgan. A curious name. They are perhaps only "People of the place," "People found in place," and finally "the Indigenes." Would they go back to the oldest Seksawa legitimacy? Perhaps their name suggests former classifications among different strata of population, like the leff-s of the Anti-Atlas. It is these a. Umgan that the people of Tasa refer to as legitimate and initial owners. The Arabized al-Mukïnï distinction is frequent in the documents, and often as paraph of a scholar. Another finding that has weight, these documents refer not only to the present impasse of the I. Geryun, but to places such as Tawennrrast, Igelwan, not situated in a. Gïir. A circum-Tichka habitat and relations, that is to say, anterior to the present partitioning and segregation, are not the ones that are least archaic or least revealing in these testimonies. That seems to reinforce the liaison of these two groups to a certain Seksawa past, based as much on the ethnic data as on the geographical cadre that it suggests.

[Ait Gasa]

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619 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the original source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

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619 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Assttif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gâr, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Assttif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

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619 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief.

[Ait Gasa]

/73 cont./

173 619 one Abdelmumen. These relations between the holders of the sanctuary and the people of the nearby fort indicate significant tension. Popular reprobation still weighs upon these vanquished ones two centuries and a half after their total effacement. It seems that Seksawa legitimacy was never conferred upon them, despite the proximity of Z'init'. They are considered usurpers; but perhaps this is only the consequence of a late classification.

How have the new arrivals, Idma and Imt'ddan, today servants of the saint, been able to obtain the good graces of Lalla Aziza?• Is this a historical fact or a reinterpretation qualifying the conquerors after the event? It is a difficult matter to resolve. However that may be, these conquerors, eliminating the a. Gasa usurper, just as not far away the a. Lh'sen eliminated the Demsira usurper, have been the restorers of the Seksawa legitimacy, and legend has kept account of it for them.

101 • 174 619 The name of the a. Gasa is very old. Its consonance recalls three old Berber names: ait Waddjas, ait Iggès, Uqâça. Le /al-/ Baydhâq mentions some Banu Waggâs in the Genfisa confederation, and among the "Çawda of the mountain" some Unghasa (1),

1. Among the agricultural quarters of Z'init', note the existence of a tamazirt Iwanghasen.

174 619 where E. Laoust recognizes our a. Gasa. One is, of course, poorly informed on the site of these different branches in the Almohade epoch. It is possible that the ancestors of the a. Gasa, belonging to a neighboring group, inserted themselves as profiteers in the Seksawa system at the time when it was weakening (end of the fourteenth century) and remained in it until the time when the forces from the S. and the curse of the saint drove them out.

In such a matter, it is necessary to be very heedful of the notion of legitimacy, /74/ from which the a. Gasa were excluded, at least starting from a certain time, and from which, on the contrary, the Idma will benefit. But here, in this sense, is a new archeological clue.

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There exists a path called Tagharast i-ysseksawan (1),

1. Another Tagharast leads from the zaouia of Ammern to the a. Musa by disregarding the river valley. There are other examples of these "reserve" paths, the existence of which undoubtedly expresses phases of rivalry between populations ruling the river and populations ruling the forest. But we know too little of the past of the Atlas to get further involved on a course nevertheless indeed suggestive.

direct, but difficult communication between Usikis, original cradle of Idma power, and the confluent of the two highest valleys, the "between rivers," Igersafen. Thus, while avoiding the great valley, the high Seksawa and the historical center of dispersion that one can locate on the North counterforts of the Tabgurt could communicate. This liaison with the archaic system of the Tichka is certainly very important.

It indicates an era when the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, because of hostile occupants or for some other reason, had to be avoided. One might consequently wonder if this axis, disregarding the river path and capable of leading to Lalla Aziza by way of the plateau of the Mzawt, was not anterior to the present political configurations.

If we put it in relation to the initial system of the Idma, straddling the Tassila, the Agersili basin, the Inraren Z'dinin plateau, and the ravines that radiate from it, this impression is reinforced. The Idma tradition has it that, at a certain time, [34] Idaw Geryun (we mean the oldest Seksawa, whom the ait D'alh'a still represent today) and Idma by turns elected a moqaddem yearly; the Tagharast permitted the direct displacement of the jemâa-s to the place of the election. However that may be, beyond the articulation of a geographical complex that history confirms, we can quite legitimately imagine that the settling of the Idma must have been authorized by the patronage of the former

/74 cont./

487 174 619 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making one presume direct communication between sidi Âmer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 166 619 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/ song (2).

2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^e s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 175 619 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas. On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma. The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^e siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ^cAt'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

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The Ordeals of the Vassal

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On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabṯh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/." Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

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The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./

174 166 619 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of ideolôgical eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," tarrut', of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met above Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of 174 of the Idma. They elected two moqaddem-s yearly, and the 175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking 634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the 619 original source./

Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sâid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great amghar, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the taqbilt will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./

174 Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for
175 Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.
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175 Here now are two documents from annals.

The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal.
[619] The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits.
After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the
175 last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original
539 source/:
619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs
726 follows.
619 At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imč'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gšir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

619
174 Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the
175 Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

/82 cont./

174 175 619 contrary, of a stage of indivision /Fr. indivision, "indivision," "joint possession"/ among the law, the sacred, and the temporal initiative of the group. What does rule among these three orders of facts, at the epoch envisaged, is a division of labor, an agreement, the very personal modes of which we shall have to analyze.

127 However that may be, such a correlation presents in its nature great documentary interest. That of sorting out from localizable written testimonies the unfolding of a long phase of the valley's history. Innumerable titles of purchase, where at least one of the parties belongs to the a. Gasa, are produced in the legal proceedings of the present time. The inventory of two series of land records, those of the family of the a. Ikru and that of the present chief of the a. Gasa emigrants, Brahim Aharqus, has even been possible. And there has been recourse accessorily to other, more lacunary elements.

175 174 619 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section, are in small type in the original source./ The family of the a. Ikru, originally from the Sous, has preserved up to our day a marginal existence which has kept it apart and from the successes and ordeals of the group to which it was agglomerated: a. Gasa at first, and now Idma. Its descendant, the gardener Akonad' of Imintanout, cited in a legal dispute over property a large number of ancient documents, among /83/ which some twenty could have been applied to the land. In an appeal, however, he lost the case, which he had started, in the name of an old legitimacy, against the present, and already old, occupants: some Imt'ddan. The right of origin, however secular it may be, and doubtlessly for this very reason, was defeated in the case at hand by the verified possession. It could not be otherwise in a time of landowner and judiciary normalization. But the debate was interesting, because it made many old and valuable ideas crop up.

127 Another series of documents, nostalgically saved by the a. Gasa, disconsolate, it seems, by the curse of the saint and by the loss of their lands, constituted the second large element of documentation, the toponymic cross-checking of which permitted verifying the exactitude. An exactitude that leaps over, if I may venture to say it, two centuries of exile.

[Ait Gasa]

175
174
619

/84/ In the second part of the fifteenth century, and probably toward the end of it, the Idma settled at Usikis (with its Agersili ground). From there, in a second stage, they advance and occupy Wanchkrir (Inraren Z'dinin ground) and Ad'erd'ur (valley of the Tazmzgart). Agersili and Wanchkrir were taken from the a. Gasa. Infiltration by purchases followed by military liquidation, or violent colonization followed by regularization?

What would suggest the first hypothesis is the very ancient date of a sale consented to concerning his part of Agersili by an a. Gasa to an Idma (document of 987 Heg.: 1568). The terminus ad quem of the facts resulting in the second hypothesis is offered by a document of 1013 Heg.: 1605. Some a. Gasa formerly occupants of Wanchkrir, "today in ait Gâir," testify on the subject of a building situated on the perimeter of this village.

At this time (beginning of the seventeenth century), the ground of the a. Gasa had shrunk to the main valley. Leaving the N. counterfort of the Tabgurt, which the conquerors held, it began toward the S. at "the boundary of Lalla Aziza," Tiktit n-Lalla Aziza, on the river, and ended beyond the present Tasseli, at Imi y-Ikis perhaps. Two large villages, Jjgit and Tannsmekht, dominate this sector. A left-affluent ravine, from Tigomma Titchekht (below Wanchkrir) and right-affluent ravines, toward the Afuzar, complete this perimeter. One finds there, at the place called Amlal n-Gâir, several centers of life: Tançmt, Rekto, in ruins today, in the localities of the present zaouia of Assttif.

[126] The conflict between a. Gasa on one hand, Idma and Imt'ddan on the other, continued in the seventeenth century. Without issue. It is from the beginning of the eighteenth century that a retreat of the a. Gasa took place, which turned into disaster and, toward the end of the century, ended in definitive liquidation. As always it is difficult to distinguish in the documents the phases of violent or contractual dispossession, each doubtlessly preparing for or completing the other.

At a date prior to 1122 Heg.: 1710, the village of Tannsmekht and its mosque were sacked. A first emigration of the a. Gasa occurs, followed by a peaceful or offensive return to

[Ait Gasa]

/84 cont./

175 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same
174 time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occu-
619 pation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.: 1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of
[361] this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghla are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwizgaren, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'ǎjj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'ǎjj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of auctoritas.

[539] The documents of istirᶜǎ', "ritual protestation" against monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gǎr between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Ddu-wzru.
619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirᶜâ'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

[634] In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[578] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only
[731] the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.
"The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâfî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâîd, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
619 that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜUthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and
619 Mençur.
634 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
[176] cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity, guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
[181] treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sâid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 bought their settlement from the a. Lh'sen, who had just conquered their irrigated ground.

This ground, which remains separated from the first canton occupied by some mixed populations (Demsira, Idaw Semlal, and others, constituting the present Sekrat), was completely wrested from the Demsira by the usual methods. The latter twisted back first to Uchfili, then to the agadir n-Tizumyan n-Tlborjt. This village was so large that it contained simultaneously series of homonyms of 100 persons. Such excess invited bad luck. There soon remained for them no more than the lower valley, where the a. Lh'sen pushed them farther and farther downstream, with the alliance of an old population, the Ih'erdach, who are then found at Tamzedakht and Agawz.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ But here is how the alliance ended. On the occasion of a ceremony undoubtedly matrimonial between a. Lh'sen youths and Ih'erdach girls, right in the middle of the tiwilt, the a. Lh'sen leaped to their arms and massacred the Ih'erdach. The wadi was scurfed with blood. A Negress discovered it and gave [176] the alarm. That day a saint was born, sidi Abderrah'man u Messfud. The Ih'erdach thus lost Tabratjut. The bourg was taken by force by a new Aymerillot, the valiant Mh'and u Bujmi, accompanied by his seven sons: he had been promised it in appanage, provided that he seize it. This he did!

The Ih'erdach subsequently died out at Iferwan, a high place where a small sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man is still seen on a peak that appears on the left as one reascends the torrent.

What was eliminated here was not only the Demsira occupant, but also the legitimate owner and the ally. The a. Lh'sen displayed an unnecessary cruelty. It completed their bellicose type. But that is going to pose a problem of purification. The place of the tiwilt is still sinister. The harvests never prosper [172] there: the saint thus decided on it. Is it for this reason that ruined terraces are still seen on the left bank of the torrent? This

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint be-
[776] came /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s,
[423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 124 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now
[631] one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/93 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

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/94 cont./
have believed so (2).

2. H. Terrasse, Histoire du Maroc /History of Morocco/, makes a case for the hypothesis of the leff-s for ancient periods, t. I, 1949, pp. 30 sq. Likewise R. Brunschvig, La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides /Eastern Barbary under the Hafsids/, t. II, 1947, p. 169, considers that the "bipartite system of the soffs, so well known..., was already operating, from all evidence, in the Middle Ages." Tempting suggestions of J. Lambert with regard to the "Tablettes Albertini," R. Afr., 1953, pp. 200 sq.

At least one thing favors them: the vitality, with ample correspondences, of the least canton of the Atlas. Today we are tempted to enclose it within its walls. But could it not be that we are fractioning to excess the cadres of this history? Certainly analysis fragments. It is perhaps too affected by the stage of arrival, which is discontinuous, not only for the Atlas, but for all of North Africa. This reality reaches us all in little bits, like shattered auto-glass. But shattered by what shocks or, rather, what evolutions? Perhaps the case of the Seksawa ought to guide one to distinguish, in the remotenesses of the old and medieval Maghreb, larger ensembles, a more malleable space. In the last part of this work, we shall seek to dig out a decisive hypothesis for the interpretation of these societies.

174 As conjectural as the oldest period may be in the case of the Seksawa, it brings out that a vocation for great spaces and for a great history has been shattered in them toward the middle of the fourteenth century. The taqbilt, which was formerly ordered in the N.-S. direction, which is that of its waters, its relief, its lands, and its plants, was to be broken into transversal stretches. The conversion from the one disposition to the other invited intrusions. The valley became populated with usurpers. The authentic Seksawa no longer exist except /95/ cramped on both

/95 cont./

174 sides of a sacred place. They are no more than a sampling. But the matter is important: for by means of them a legitimacy survived. The originality of this history from then on will be the re-establishment of this legitimacy, in spite of the growing misfortunes of the times and in an ever narrower cadre. And that this re-establishment of a name, and of a person, be done by external contributions, with the exclusion of any recourse to the original substance.

Thus the group underwent a long identity crisis. And it resolved it in a striking fashion: by modifying its content. Even if the a. Gasa are authentic Seksawa, they will be eliminated from this tradition and replaced as such by allogenes. In what therefore does this group identity consist? Such a question, which puts itself in the very heart of our research, illustrates the central discussion and the unity of a history small in bulk, but typical.

It is in the period of two and a half centuries, starting in the middle of the sixteenth century, that the essential part of the new mise en place /putting in place/ was done. The intervention of two armed groups coming in, and absolutely contrasting in style with the other elements -- warlike migration or conventional hospitality -- was the main event in it. This vivification was brought about by way of the South. Doubtlessly that is a general phenomenon for the Atlas and perhaps for all of Morocco. What is peculiar here is the signification that it assumes. These fresh forces found in place an ally in a certain constancy, ritual and juridical, bound to the name and to the country. They exerted themselves to remove the usurpation, to restore a people.

It is tempting to relate the intervention of these new factors to the great mystic movement from the Sous in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But another idea emerges. The origin of the newcomers, the fact that the mountains remain outside of the hagiology of the times, and still other features make one think that these immigrations proceeded not from the expansion from the Sous at the time, but indeed from the local resistance that it encountered. Not from the movement, but from its repercussions. Among these Iguzulen, then prey to a spiritual and political push,

/95 cont./

174 the ones going off toward the Atlas were not partisans, but refractory ones (1).

[171]

1. Let us recall that this was often the case for montagnard societies likewise archaic. For example, in Spain, M. Legendre, Las Jurdes /Las Hurdes/, 1927, pp. 86 sq.

[184] In the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, our Seksawa would thus answer for the Idaw Semlal (2).

2. The Seksawa are, if I may venture to say so, I. Semlal turned about. What would we not give if this group, brought to our attention by so many indications by Justinard and R. Montagne, were to become the subject of a historical and sociological study!

[538] Here, the cultural profusion, the richness in heroes of this /96/ world and of the other: minstrels, merchants, jurists, saints, dancers; a fecundity so conscious of itself that it leads to academism (1).

1. Cf. for example the veritable literary "séances" described by Justinard, "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes on Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, pp. 291-326. The ethnic Samlâlî is extraordinarily frequent in the biographical collections concerning the doctors or saints of the Moroccan South, the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, for example.

There, on the contrary, a sullen reserve, an obstinate silence. From the end of the fifteenth century, the cadre of the Seksawa, becoming archaic, takes in the waste products and the

/96 cont./

174 refractory ones of the great Moroccan history. Somehow or other it recombined them in the permanence of a name. It set against the decadence and the investment a flood of vitality drawn from the South of the Atlas.

The oldest chronicle, the local tradition, and recent observation are thus in agreement. All postulate, around a very small country, dimensions more largely Maghrebi. Everything leads one to recognize the work of the times in a system to which one might quite wrongly lend the immutability of its montagnard decor.

/97/ Second Part

Exchanges Between the Group and the Natural Milieu

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182 /99/ I. Organization of the Seksawa Space

Readable in the landscape (1),

113 114 1. At the opening of this chapter, I call upon the considerations of Vidal de Lablache on "L'homme, facteur géographique /Man, geographical factor/," Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 12; another great book, that of L. Febvre on La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922. I must also cite the intuitive comments of J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 129 sq., as well as the article by G. Friedmann on "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, pp. 103 sq. Finally, my debt is large in regard to F. Braudel and the elegant and full pages that he devotes to the Mediterranean

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyāra). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 221 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hesitates to believe it.

• 174 648 221 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzūyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wān, long contested by the Ud Besseba^{c}, was the dār al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Abdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchū^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

(423) (427)

/104 cont./

174 648 221 Other grounds could formerly have constituted the perimeter of tillage of the Seksawa. One knows the fragility of philological hypotheses. /105/ It is not on belief in the doublet Seksawa-Chichaoua, if it is one, that we could ever base ourselves. But it is not very probable that at the time of the Seksawa expansion this powerful population did not project toward the plain the same spreadings, if I may venture to say it, of agricultural life as their more modest neighbors, like the Dwiran or Mez'ud'a, do today. The harsh history of the Chichaoua plain, its Makhzen /makhzan/ status, which took all spontaneity away from the movements of populations and even occasionally led to transfers en masse, like that of the Idaw Blal or the Ud Besseba^{c}, will prevent ever coming to a conclusion on that. But one is struck by the unity of the system of irrigation between downstream and upstream. [312] It is the water of the Seksawa that, conveyed by four séguias, carries an uncertain fertility into about all of the first third of the plain. Chichaoua and its valley have remained integrally Berbère /Berber/. Still today, numerous Mez'ud'a possess land there and make the plains habitat and the mountain habitat alternate. More to the E., in Frûga, the saint of the Seksawa enjoyed a water right up until a late date: a hagiological indication that is not without interest. Let us mention only for memory the transhumance, a phenomenon that goes beyond the landed-property right, but which after all is practiced in Ud Besseba^{c} for the profit of the Seksawa, unilaterally and without this one-way service being understood today. Finally, the abundance of the agadir-s in the toponymy of the a. Âbdella, on the mountainous threshold that the river must cross in order to empty on the plain, agrees curiously with the existence and fairly recent activity of agadir-s that can be spotted on the same band of the Dir, in Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, where their function is clear.

174 221 121 All that is little for proof. But the ensemble of presumptions is sufficient to evoke a former state of things when the plain-mountain relation, in the case of the Seksawa, correlatively

/105 cont./

174 matched an affluence in piedmont lands (1).

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1. It is the sâh'a of the Seksawa, of which Ibn Khaldûn speaks. Cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 382.

When did this affluence disappear? The hypothesis that comes to mind, as one has seen, is that of the anti-Mérinide rebellion of the fourteenth century and of the construction of the fortress of al-Qâhira, intended precisely to block the montagnard chefferie by cutting it off -- and it was ever thus -- from its sâh'a, that is to say, from its clearances. As experts, the masters from Marrakech inflicted on the system a definitive breakdown. They abolished for it one of the terms of this seasonal plain-mountain alternation, of this South-North vibration, which formed the life of the times.

Solidarities for the Water

241 The great problem of montagnard horticulture is of a mechanical nature. It is to counteract the blind force of the slope and /106/ to draw life from it. How? A physicist would say: by a tangential diversion tending to the horizontal. From this abstract law can be taken two kinds of complementary techniques. The one of the soil, which breaks the declivity into tiers, often
241 clearly constituted. The other one of the streaming waters, which
312 exploits their spontaneous movement in order to spread it in a plane surface either by channels or by direct spreading. These hyraulics tend to substitute for an unutilizable flow, springing from the violence of unexpected water, a calculated module in order to saturate the land to its limit of absorption as much as possible. That is to say that it sets vast distances to work. First, those that the impluvium covers. Then those that the channel crosses to reach the point of utilization. Thus irrigation is a great consumer of space. If it inspires one of the most skillful, most coherent forms of the mountain life, the fact is that it requires the solution of the greatest difficulties of a political, technical, and social order.

/117 cont./

571 431 233 221 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A [634] "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba[c] girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

●174 221 233 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Seksawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, although decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyān from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouïa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by [571] the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma[c]qil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were [171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

/118 cont./

174 221 233 171 the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 233 571 634 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations, plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

221 /118 cont./
233 or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for ex-
571 ample.
634 It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171]

2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other
174 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
648 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

121 619 634 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 619 133 [571] [137] Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their livestock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation. Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 648 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that [487] unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of [794] the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its [666] support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed [631] it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
● 174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'ogg^{w}a, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/34 cont./

*175 Agadir, to the country of the Mezwar of the Dra in the district of Tinzoulin, while in the plains of the North the Hilalians of the Sofian /Sofyan/ and Jochem tribes, allied to the Portuguese of Safi and Mogador, will lay waste the crops of the Berbères /Berbers/ at the foot of the Atlas as far as the gates of Marrakech. But little by little the Arabs of the Dra, they too, will find themselves pushed back into the Sahara. In our day the Oulad Yahya of the Khèla Tifernin, the ᶜArib and the Roha of the bend of the Dra take no more than a reduced part in the activity of the great valleys.

Thus is accomplished, in the Moroccan South, the triumph of the sedentary peoples over the nomads, the slow assimilation of the foreigners by the autochthons; by groups or by isolated families, the last to come settle on the land, and in the solitude of the desert one again meets no more than irreducible elements whose present weakness and misery hardly permit us to imagine what the power of the Maᶜqil formerly was.

*175 IV. The interior displacements. -- Even when the peopling
167 of the Sous region appears finished, interior movements continue
•174 to stir up the bulk of the sedentary tribes. Displacements of small social groups finish bringing about the intimate mixture of the elements of various origins, already prepared by the clash of the large Berbère /Berber/ or Arab families.

This phenomenon of "brassage" /stirring, mixing/ goes on in two forms. We have mentioned above the attraction exerted by the irrigated valleys and the oases of the Dir on the inhabitants of the mountains or infertile plains. But a displacement of tribes toward the North is also produced, which indeed indicates, by the very constancy of its direction, the existence of a permanent restlessness of the men obliged to live in this hard country. A number of tribes of the Anti-Atlas or /35/ of the south versant of the Atlas have thus put out colonies on the northern slopes of the Deren or in the country of the Haha. Moreover, the memory of
[101] the ethnic bond that united the detached fraction with the mother tribe has often disappeared. Only the name survives,

/35 cont./

*175 167 •174 101 which indicates to us the origin of these favored groups who have thus succeeded in establishing themselves farther to the North in regions less hostile to human life. Such are the Souktana, settled a short time ago at a distance of a day's walk from Marrakech on the first slopes of the hills of the Kik and who are brothers of the Isouktan of the eastern Anti-Atlas; the Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, relatives of the Ait Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the Aït Semmeg of the southern Dir of the Atlas, northeast of Taroudant, who without doubt came from the land of the Aït Semmeg of the north versant of the Anti-Atlas; the Ida Ou Bouzia, Aït ʿAmer, Aït ʿAisi, south of the Haha, originally from tribes of the same name who are still established in the plain or the Dir of the Chtouka.

Actually, as we shall see, each of the little tribes who thus live a great distance to the north of the territory of the social group that gave them birth and whose name they keep is not exclusively made up of families of the same blood; many foreigners who arrived from every direction came to enlarge the mass of emigrants. But the founding of these colonies remains no less, in origin, a manifestation of this great historic movement of migration toward the north by tribes coming from the Sahara and the steppes, which is being completed today before our eyes by imperceptible displacements of families in a country henceforth conquered by sedentary living.

*175 648 V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of social groups. -- At the time when, in the Moroccan South, the predominance of Berbère /Berber/ agriculturalists over all the elements of outside origin is asserting itself, it is not useless to observe how much the bond, formerly so strong, that joined together the tribes from which the big families of the Masmouda and Senhaja were made was then weakened. Since the sixteenth century, after the passage of the Arabs and the maraboutic reaction, it seems that the hostility of the two races has disappeared. As a matter of fact, from now on the historians do [101] not mention their names to us any more, except to show the

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•174 XIV. Insufficiency of the historical sources in the nineteenth century. Necessity for direct investigations. -- From the time of the reign of the sultan Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman (1822-1859), the documents that might enable us to know the history of the Moroccan South become fewer and fewer. On the one hand, the writings of the historians Akensous and Ahmed en Nasiri show us the life of the Sherifian Empire under more and more conventional aspects; on the other hand, it seems as though, in the isolation in which it is shut up, the far Maghreb is seeing the activity of the dynasty and of the tribes diminish and that great deeds capable of striking the mind and fixing themselves in the memory are becoming rarer. For want of sufficiently complete texts by means of which we might be able to know what the Makhzen's /makhzan's/ policy in the South of Morocco had been for a century, tradition and the memory of the oldest old men can, however, suffice to /108/ enable us to find the major lines and understand the reaction that it evoked among the tribes.

By putting together, at the price of patient investigations, the thousand small events that stirred the Berbère /Berber/ mountain cantons, one can actually arrive at some knowledge of the deep life of this province precise enough in order to distinguish well the nature and the importance of the main political forces, which oppose one another, as we shall see, according to constant laws. Local history, thus reconstituted, is the web of the study that we are going to try to make of the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, of the birth and development of personal power, of the submission of the tribes to the Makhzen /makhzan/; but the fabric of this history is so uniform, the threads that cross one another in it are so numerous and so closely woven that it would perhaps be difficult to perceive at first, if we tried to make too complete an exposition here, the simple rules according to which the facts are connected. Therefore we shall limit ourselves, for the moment, to choosing from among the numerous pieces of information collected on the spot by our efforts the events that make known the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the reigns of the last Filalian sultans. In the course of our study of the

/108 cont./

*175 *174 institutions, on the other hand, we shall draw besides from the history of the tribes for the past century, applying ourselves to finding, among so many obscure struggles, the examples that make one understand how the transformation of the Sous province was brought about.

*175 XV. The policy of the Makhzen under Moulay ʿAbd er-Rahman. -- In the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er-Rahman, sherifian policy relied, as during the preceding period, on the forces of the Arab or faithful Berbère /Berber/ tribes charged with keeping the more rebellious ones obedient. On the whole, the Atlas of the Masmouda remains little changed by the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/, but through the Telwet pass and the Tizi n Fedghat to the East on the one hand, by the coastal road of the Haha to the West on the other, leaders in the Sultan's service try to reach at a great distance the tribes of the Dadès, the Dra, the Feija, or the ones of the western Anti-Atlas. Finally, in the heart of the Sous plain, Taroudant forms another center that directs its activity toward the central Anti-Atlas.

In the coastal region the champion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is El Hajj /109/ ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, kaid of the Haha; the Sultan's enemy is the marabout of the Tazerwalt.

El Hajj ʿAbdallah ou Bihi appears about 1844 and in the South of Morocco takes over the tradition created by Aghennaj 50 years before. After reducing to impotence the minor kaids of the Mtougga, his rivals, whom he expels from their house of Bouaboud, he subjugates entirely the country of the Haha, whose tribes of the South have regained their independence; he immediately conquers the Ida Ou Tanan and establishes himself, as the Sultan's caliphate, in Taroudant and among the Chtouka of the plain; he draws to himself the minor chiefs of the fractions of the Dir, and with the aid of a sherif of the Haha, Moulay Idris, to whom he entrusted the command of Taroudant, he keeps all the tribes submissive in obedience.

The domain of the sherif of the Tazerwalt begins beyond the territory of the Chtouka, on the left bank of the Oulghas wadi. At Illigh, Sidi Hachem has recaptured, since the death of his enemy

/126 cont./

*631 712 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 •174 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently established feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Berber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great kaids, by living in their valley fortresses, ensure the transmission of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. In the *631 342 tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains, from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest respect. Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one [735] another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 *634 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told, if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose inhabitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders. They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." These small villages, [721] more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain autonomy; the adjoining kaids each have their partisans, combat is

/136 cont./

*631 *634 [978] traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favorable occasion for having the authority that they have acquired recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by submission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[648]

1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 619 121 Without having the importance of the independent group of the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evolution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and help us to find again what the social organization of this whole region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

[178] [174]

*631 *634 619 [669] [712] It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pastoralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ʿAbdallah, Aït Qalla, in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys. As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of resistance to the political transformation were concentrated around large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But before the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

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*634 166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113]

1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 184 [619] [131] *634 184 •174 178 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollection of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ approximately (1)

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

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/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

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More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

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*[634]
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The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

*634 /157 cont./
184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
131 population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.

It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
• [174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder, it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt," led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

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*631 that the bond that unites their parts sometimes seems to escape
619 all investigation.

619 VI. The tribe; difficulty of defining its nature. -- A tribe
*[634] is a group of cantons -- whose number may vary between three
[184] and twelve -- that possesses a definite territory, a name, some common traditions, and is at the same time devoid of any precise political institution, especially in the region of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which has not been modified by the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ command (2).

> 2. We have said that there does not generally exist in the high regions of the Atlas or of the Anti-Atlas any particular name to designate the tribe. One often uses the name of "taqbilt"; preferably it is designated by the name of the people who form it: "Iseksawen," "Ida Ou Mhamoud."

619 The unit of the tribe appears only in exceptional circum-
*634 stances, when the independence of the cantons is threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/ and all the warriors assemble to defend the country. But most often the durable bond that unites the cantons -- a bond attested to by the historical persistence of the tribe's name -- is characterized solely by the existence of a confused feeling of brotherhood, whose nature and origin we do not succeed in seeing clearly.

619 One could, by invoking the example that we have just given
/160/ of the progressive development of the "taqbilt" of the Aït
•194 Haddiyous, regarded as the ancestors of the Seksawa, according to the traditions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, try to regard the constituent parts of a tribe as the result of the growth of a single group, which at the same time would have been fragmented into small units in the course of time. This way of looking at it would, moreover, tolerably conform to the representations that the Berbères /Berbers/ themselves customarily make, and one would

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619 be tempted to justify it by local genealogical legends. But we
•174 have said what the importance of foreign contributions was, even in the high mountains, which make the idea of community of origin illusory.

619 On the other hand, it would be very difficult to concede that
*634 all the tribes are only groups of cantons within which would be found a "mother-taqbilt," having given birth to the other units by simple internal development or by conquest. Indeed, the power of expansion of a privileged group cannot overcome indefinitely the resistance that surges up from every side when it tries to advance; a small elementary state does not always keep the same warlike ardor, and causes of decline intervene to stop its growth. [616] Besides, there are established among all the cantons systems of alliances organized so as to constitute in every region two opposed leagues whose efforts are in equilibrium; this institution, to which is given the name of "leff" and whose importance we shall soon discuss, has the consequence of limiting the expansion of overly active groups and establishing a sort of balance among all; it is doubtless owing to its conservative influence that we see exist in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ a large part of the tribes and fractions that were already there at the time of the Almohades (1).

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1. This structural complexity of the tribe has already been pointed out elsewhere.

Cf. A. Bernard and Lacroix, Évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /Evolution of Nomadism in Algeria/, p. 278. "The tribes are very heterogeneous in general, containing some sedentary fractions and others nomadic, some religious fractions and others laic, some fractions in struggles against one another. It is the clan and not the tribe, as is usually said, that corresponds to the Greek γένος and the Roman gens. The tribe is formed both by the development of the familial element and by the aggregation of foreign elements." -- "It is wrong," says M. Doutté, "to

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/footnote 1 continued/ picture the divisions of the tribes in the form of a genealogical tree. The divisions of the present-day groups of the populations generally constitute, not branches issuing from the same trunk, but grafts supported on a primitive stalk that it has sometimes become impossible to discern." (Doutté, "Figuig /a Saharan oasis/." Notes et Impression. -- La géographie, 1903, Vol. IV, p. 186.)

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619 The existence of a common territory, which figures as the historical heritage of a group of fractions whose unity has perhaps /161/ been greater in former times than in our day, is sometimes regarded by the members of the tribe as the strongest bond by which they are united. Possession of soil with well-delineated borders then takes on greater importance than belief in the existence of a common ancestor. Thus a man from the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, whose geographical limits are very precise, questioned about the origins of his tribe and the personality of this Mhamoud who gave it this name, answers: "We are of the Aït Tounert. That is the name of our 'taqbilt'; Ida Ou Mhamoud is only the name of our country" (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

In the same way, in the Anti-Atlas, a Tamli, of the Ammeln tribe, tells us: "The Ammeln do not form a tribe, but they are people who possess a country whose limits are marked by mountains. And in this country one finds seven small tribes." These "small tribes" of the Ammeln are precisely what we have called "taqbilt" or cantons.

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•174 But very often also the borders are poorly defined and it seems that they have varied in the course of the centuries. In the region of the Tichka, certain tribes like the Demsira or Mesgina, which were represented to us as early as the twelfth

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619 century as "emigrants with the Genfisa" (2).
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2. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, p. 65.

were perhaps then ethnic groups driven from the plain in a body by the arrival of nomadic Berbères /Berbers/ and who were trying to live in the Atlas of the Masmouda. These units had to make a place for themselves little by little in the midst of hostile populations. When they did not succeed in obtaining a peaceful habitat and continued to suffer the opposition of the neighboring tribes, one conceives that the primitive genealogical notion forms the only durable bond among the fractions, even though the mingling of foreign families has taken all real value from it.

619 The feeling of tribal solidarity thus seems to us to be made up of somewhat confused or even contradictory notions: that of the existence of a common ancestor in a country inhabited by families who have come from the most diverse regions; that of the unity of a territory whose boundaries are not always fixed.

*634 VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- An-
616 other element of a very special kind, and whose existence ends
619 up /162/ perplexing our minds accustomed to simple and clear definitions, often comes to be added to the preceding ones: a kind of state of equilibrium between two opposed parties, who wage a furious struggle with each other within the tribe, is frequently observed.

In the greater part of the high-mountain territory of the western Atlas, there are two great alliances into which the fractions of tribes enter separately. All the little political cells that we have described under the name of cantons get there in this way, by opposing one another or by associating with one another in following the line of valleys or of the cols, to form a kind of immense chessboard in two colors, which stretches from the col of the Bibaoun to the tribe of the Glawa. Now, the fractions or cantons that constitute the tribes are often divided between these

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619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
184 almost forgotten history.

*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we
619 find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
•174 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the opposed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such loose associations of small elementary states would have succeeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer memory of a common history, must have contributed to form these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons, the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating, without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thousand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
[131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa established in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of elementary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
*634 themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most

*631 619 175 [778] /167 cont./ In any event they frequently keep for their general meetings a holy spot, a sanctuary, or even a plain specially reserved for this purpose. It is when they assemble for war that there reappears, according to a tradition that seems millenary, a rigorously determined order of battle: at the head, the porte-bonheur /bearers of good luck/, then the different groups, each coming in its place, in a succession known to all. One knows what utility Ibn Toumert drew from this institution in order to organize the "Tamyiz" /hierarchy of tribes/ of the Almohades. It is still observed in our day very much alive among the Haha, as in many other regions of Berbère /Berber/ Morocco (1).

1. In particular among the Aït ᶜAtta, confederation of seminomads of the Saghro and the central Atlas, and among the Ghomara.

*631 • 174 One might wonder whether the historical confederations, whose parts are most often in our day so weakly linked with one another, are not what exists, as "social cadre," of homogeneous ethnic masses arriving long ago for the conquest of the Moroccan South. Invading the Atlas in large groups, perhaps still attached to the forms of the nomadic life, the Masmoudian populations, divided into large families, would thus have conquered their place little by little; later, they would have lost the feeling of their unity by the contribution of foreign elements, or, still more simply, because of the stronger bond that attaches the inhabitants of the fractions to their soil. At the same time, the common institutions would have disappeared.

*631 174 171 What would confirm this way of looking at it is the importance that the bonds of confederation still have among the seminomadic Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ /168/ of both versants of the central Atlas. Indeed, we see in this region, as well as to the east of the Dra, sizable groups that still live in tents, take possession of the country, and preserve, in spite of their internal

/168 cont./
*631 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of
•174 their ethnic unity (1).
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1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 Such are the Aït ʿAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the
[726] Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These
[178] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the
[666] "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to
* [634] the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of
[616] sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions opposed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could
174 thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

*631 /168 cont./
•[174] conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 [648] [792] [642] At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas, a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

*631 619 [796] [692]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

Having reached
/184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before the period of the development of personal power and that the transformations that have taken place since then are explained by the political action of the great chiefs.

II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent information that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at the end of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seksawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghala, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aït Fademt" and "Aït Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aït Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit against the Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

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•174 *631 *634 616 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/ name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 616 [632] [621] The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir, they were "khoms" or "rbaᶜ," fractions of tribes having the same size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker units, "moudaᶜ" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetration are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alternated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Maᶜcho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

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619 long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may
648 have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposi-
[131] tion of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on
[726] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and
174 those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

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616 names. In the Onein one indeed observes the struggle of the "Aït
-174 Ikhlef" and the "Aït Qodni," still tied to the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and "Aït Zolit." But among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa we find three groups of two leffs: the "Aït Atman," enemies of the "Aït Tintlet" in the Tifnout; the "Inemzel" opposed to the "Aït Iraten" to the east of the Sirwa; more to the South and toward the limit of the desert, the "Igezzoulen," hereditary adversaries of the "Isouktan." The natives here still indeed believe in the unity of two great alliances, but in comparing their information collected in the various cantons, we find irreducible contradictions.

It may be that this break in the patchwork of the two primitive leffs is not unrelated to the disturbing activity carried out because of the rivalries of minor chiefs anciently subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and whose casbahs are found on the route of passage that joins Taroudant to the col of the Glawa in passing by way of the Ihouziyoun, the Zagmouzen, Tazenakht, and the Haut-Dra (1).

1. We shall see farther on (Book III, Ch. I and II) how the policy of the amghars rapidly resulted in the dissociation of the leffs.

One can also believe that, in this region of transition, liaison is not perfectly established between the leffs of the Haut-Atlas and those of the Anti-Atlas, because the struggle of the "Igezzoulen" and their "Isouktan" or "Aoggwa" adversaries does not assume the same form as that of the two leagues of the Masmouda. However
616 that may be, the weakening of the institution is not such that, in
926 the attempt to conquer the Souktana by Si Tayeb Gontafi in 1902, this chief did not remember the alliance of the "Aït Iraten," his native leff, with that of the "Igezzoulen" and did not succeed in protecting his leff brothers in the Anti-Atlas. The policy of the Glawa in the north of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa was able just as cleverly to take advantage of the ancient traditions that bound their leff, that of the "Aït Fademt" of the north versant of the Atlas, to the "Inemzel" of the Saharan versant.

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571 Kabylie /Kabylia/, any official existence, and we have seen that
*634 it was not rare to see the leff, represented by the warriors of the
616 allied cantons of the vicinity, intervene in internal discords, in
578 order to impose peace on the families engaged in overly passionate soff disputes.

616 IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. --
•174 When one looks for the causes that could have produced the institution of the leffs, which, as we have seen, goes beyond the cadre of the political life in order to embrace at the same time the greater part of the commercial and /197/ economic activity of the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, one is first tempted to explain this state of division by ethnic reasons; one willingly imagines that this organization represents, for example, the survival of the state of war between the autochthons and the invaders, belonging respectively to two great opposed families. What may suggest this explanation is the very name that in other regions is taken by the great leffs whose aspect we shall describe: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" in the Anti-Atlas, the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara" in the north of Morocco. As a matter of fact, they were originally large Berbère /Berber/ families who were occupying the country in historic times or who came to invade it, disputing between them the possession of the soil.

It is very easy, however, to convince oneself that in the Haut-Atlas, in this region where the leffs have precisely preserved up to these last years a great vitality, this hypothesis cannot by itself alone explain the present state of the institution. The diversity of the families that form the "taqbilt," the progressive renewing of the elements that constitute the tribes by the rise or the disappearance of the fractions of which they are made up, the ethnic stability of a region that for ten centuries does not seem to have known any important changes in the way of invasion or conquest, are so many reasons that oppose an explanation of the leffs, as they are constituted in our day, by the constant struggle between two opposed races. Besides, one would not find in the information that we are given by the historians or geographers

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616 on this region from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries any
•174 argument in favor of the presence of two large enemy families, traditionally hostile and whose struggles could have resulted in the inextricable confusion of today (1).

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1. It is true that the Berbères /Berbers/ designated their leff brothers by the term "Ăltmas," the "sons of the same mother." But in matters concerning social ties the language is not very precise and does not come to distinguish by a special name the fraction of the tribe, the leff of /sic/ the soff. Thus it is impossible to maintain this argument. What is more, this brotherhood is not conceived as the result of a true relationship, but rather as a sort of pact of perpetual alliance. The term of "Ăltmas," moreover, also designates the brothers of one family, the members of one canton, of one tribe, of one confederation, as the case may be.

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174 One may also call on a geographic explanation by appealing to the existence of natural compartments in the high valleys of the Atlas and which would have formed like alveoli in /198/ which the small Berbère /Berber/ communities would have settled one after the other. The permanent state of war, which would have put these independent states in opposition, would have spontaneously resulted in the constitution of systems of alliances established by taking into consideration above all the existence of the paths of communication by the lines of crests or by the cols. The distribution of the two leffs would then be like an almost direct consequence of the disposition of the relief.

Whatever the worth of these considerations may be in certain parts of the high mountains and although the existence of means of communication between friendly "taqbilt" is a necessity, it is impossible to be content with this simple observation and especially to give it general value.

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*634 616 •174 131 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always determined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. [361] Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the Aït Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the Aït Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

[312] [578]

1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/199 cont./

*634 616 174 131 [312] [578]

/footnote 1 continued/ played an important role in the formation of the alliances, for the region of the middle or lower course of the wadis. This argument, however, is worthless in the high mountains where irrigation problems are unimportant and easy to solve.

*634 616 578 174 619

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

195 *634 619

Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us, include 46 fractions: the Aït Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

[616]

/199 cont./

175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
619 "Imsifern" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the Aït Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the Aït Zolit.

The name of the leff of the Aït Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the Aït Waouzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the Aït Fademt and Aït Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

• 174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
*634 of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
619 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
554 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classification of the fractions in which the order and the place of each one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/200 cont./

•174 *634 619 554 [78] to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts of social life executed by following an anciently established custom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[84] *[63] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

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2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the accomplishment of any important action. In the internal struggles of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

*[631] [726] [616]

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•174 *634 619 554 616 that the social groups that have given their name to the mountain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, without doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they pfotected.

174 616 619 [178] [179] Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 114 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Berbère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

*[634]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

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616 619 648 175 [173] of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him contingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty years later Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 578 174 [184] XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances. In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 174 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igezzoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/205 cont./

616 the two leffs could have been constituted in the most ancient
174 times.

The Igezzoulen, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ who doubtless
616 came from the Sahara toward the Sous in the first centuries of
174 the Hegira, found before them some Zenaga -- other Senhaja
167 who had preceded their brothers in the occupation of the country,
648 as well as Masmouda already settled in the valleys (1).

1. A tradition collected in the country of the Ammeln represents the Igezzoulen as the group of noble tribes that came from Arabia to bring Islam to the Aoggwa of the Anti-Atlas, then following pagan practices or Judaism. That would be a popular interpretation of the conquest of the Anti-Atlas by the Igezzoulen, doubtless realized by invoking the principles of Islam against the tribes poorly converted up to then.

We know the furious resistance set against the Almohades by the Igezzoulen of the Far South. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century the Zenaga, in the Jbel Negisa (2),

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 132.

to the east of the Anti-Atlas, seem to have given, with the Arabs, their support to the founding of the small kingdom of the Beni Yedder, who fought especially against the Igezzoulen. Were the Zenaga in the East, at the same time as the Souktana, the champions of the fight against the invaders, who would have settled at first in the mountains, in the poorest part of the country? Did not the Aoggwa, too, perhaps united with the Chtouka, settled from this time on in the vicinity of the western plains, try to contain their rude neighbors in the region of the summits? Finally, as a consequence of the invasion of the Maᶜqil, a fusion of Arab and Berbère /Berber/ elements would doubtless have been

2: Montagne--274 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11
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produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains, in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be penetrated more by Arab influences.

Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the Aït Waouzgit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda, more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

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XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institution of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

*634 /221 cont./
central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

[113] 2. The term "Bou 1 arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is unknown. [178] In our time the Aït Arbaᶜin are not 40, but, in the western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the representatives [174] of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per fraction, were designated this way (3).

[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "rebaᶜ," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

*634 802 174 The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their movement, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

*634 184 III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south versant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arbaᶜin" is generally

*634 184 /222 cont./ replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anflous."

*634 •174 789 Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "anflous" (1)

> 1. Anflous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I, p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anflous."

[113]

appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2),

> 2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

it is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anflous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas lbaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success. Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and [184] one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the *[631] porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in [619] the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3),

> 3. Cf. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

[113]

/222 cont./

*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
[174] intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
[789] the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
[184] consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*[631] so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
[619] things (4).

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Aït ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[798] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
184 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
174 whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured
178 the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/223 cont./

*634 789 •174 178 times. But one could imagine that the care of deciding the affairs of the tribe formerly belonged to men endowed with a magical authority, the "inflas el khir," and that little by little they were replaced in the bosom of the council by simple notables, powerful by their wealth or strong by their courage and the *634 789 184 [174 [178 number of their brothers. To support this thesis, one might cite the presence, in the political assembly of the fraction, of counselors of "good augury," who are still found in our day on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the tribes of the Ergita, Mentaga, Imedlaoun, Aït Waggonsan. There, as a matter of fact, the council is made up of two parts: one of them is constituted by the representation of the families according to turns rigorously set by tradition; the other brings together the "men of good counsel," old men who are clever and know the traditions, or men famous for giving advice favored by fortune. The latter, who alone, properly speaking, merit the name of "inflas," are there called the "Imeslaïn" (2)

2. Compare Huyghe, Dictionnaire kabyle-français /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, Paris, 1901, p. 224, "meslaie," to converse with someone about something, to speak.

or the "Imbarkiyn," and we see them intervene frequently in the deliberations and give their personal support to the moqaddems, presidents of the small independent republics of the Tichka.

Among the Ida Ou Tanan it is still "inflas el khir" who in the meetings disarm those who are cited before the "ajmoᶜa," general assembly of notables, and collect without shame the wages -- "outaïq" -- that the oldest or most respected men give them (3).

3. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 238).

Finally, elsewhere, such as in the Aghbar, among the Seksawa or

/261 cont./

343 712 178 tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

343 712 174 178 One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past and in other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ what the evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

1. Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/." Hespéris, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

121 178 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.-- Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

/358 cont./

*631 178 come -- in less than 50 years of governing -- to precipitate, in the state that they have conquered, the ruin of the whole traditional organization of the populations, without substituting any other law for it but that of their will, any other goal but that of their wealth.

*631 •174 171 It is not surprising that well before the novel of the "lords of the Atlas" was written European travelers, in the course of rapid tours in the south of Morocco, let themselves be deceived by appearances and tried to make bold comparisons between our Western feudality and this personal power established by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes. The aspect of [712] [648] the casbahs, built less than two generations ago but so quickly clothed with the patina of time, the picturesque and animated life of the inner courtyards of the fortresses, the relative freedom enjoyed by the great kaids with regard to the Sultan could indeed give some verisimilitude to this historic transposition.

[648] Certainly it was not impossible, by putting some good will into it, to multiply analogies; the kaid who was semi-independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ not long ago exercised his power in circumstances that could sometimes be compared with those of the count of the /359/ Frankish monarchy, and certain practices even seemed to be identical with the most classic institutions of our feudality. Are not the "amici," the "gasindi," who surround the count represented by the "imeddoukal," the "asahab" of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, those companions who stay in his house and among whom we have seen a natural hierarchy established according to their origins and the services rendered to the master? The amghar or the kaid, by substituting himself for the old council of the inflas formerly in charge of dividing among themselves the fines imposed on the guilty, collects the blood price as did the count in former times, the "freda" /sic/, as well as all the other settlements; that is what makes manifest their possession of the right of justice. Here, as there, doubtless in humbler forms, patronage develops, the "commendatio," in a social milieu where the weak can be saved only by abandoning to the stronger a part of his liberty, of his goods, and of his labor. The

/359 cont./

*631 acquisition -- so rapid, it is true -- of immense properties by the
•174 Berbère /Berber/ chiefs, on which they establish hundreds of
171 slaves in a few years or preserve the former masters of the land who in appearance have become similar to serfs, can again suggest another comparison. Is this not the image of the domains of the Merovingian epoch upon which, by slow evolution, the lords of the upper Middle Ages could grow in importance? A replica of the very certificate of immunity can be found in the letters of fictive command awarded by certain chiefs, the Mtouggi, for example, to the companions who have served him faithfully, so that they can escape, with all the members of their family, from the common rules of justice or of taxes (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 451.

*631 Finally, we observe here, as in the West, the development
565 of an aristocratic class, if it is permissible to use this expression
174 in speaking of the parvenu sons of the amghars, and the ruin of
171 the lower classes is precipitated at the same time that public authority is weakened: those are, as has long been said, the general conditions for the appearance of a feudality (2).

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2. Compare Fustel de Coulanges: Origines du système féodal /Origins of the Feudal System/, p. 294 and sqq., p. 415; L'alleu et le domaine rural /The Alodium and the Rural Domain/, pp. 374-382.

Nevertheless it would be imprudent to rest content with these similitudes:

*631 /360/ One barbarism always resembles another barbarism,
174 said Doutté in describing the aspect of the South of Morocco, and
171 it is not enough that "a chief live in a castle, have pages, and hunt with falcons," that peasants prostrate themselves upon his passing or that he administer justice on the threshold of his

/360 cont./

*631 casbah, for one to be able to make a feudal baron of him (1).
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1. Doutté, Mârrakech, pp. 400-402.

*631 As this sagacious observer noted, two essential aspects of the
174 social life of our Middle Ages are entirely lacking in the country
171 of the great kaids: on the one hand, the regime of lands in no
423 way justifies a comparison with that of the feudal societies; on the other, no traditional hierarchy exists among the chiefs.

The possessions of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, as we have seen, are first of all the ones that he holds from his ancestors, poor little terraced fields bordered with stones near a mud house; from the time of his first exploits, the amghar has added to them the lands of his soff and leff enemies, which he seized by main strength; later, when he has been able to levy contributions, to overwhelm his subjects by ceaselessly renewed demands for money, he has become the acquirer of the best parts of the soil of the large valleys or of the Dir. But, having reached that degree of power, the great kaid considers himself the exclusive owner of the lands that he occupies; he often even respects the formalities of purchase and sale and grants some indemnities to the former masters of the country whom he has driven out; the cultivators are only his "khemmas," and we do not see them planting themselves on his domain while preserving hereditary rights. Only the slaves, [567] bought from the merchants at Taroudant or Marrakech, people the [566] villages in the vicinity of the fortress, and they work the lands without ever becoming serfs.

Thus "tenures" do not exist in the Atlas, and the multiple and lasting relations that the land established among the various classes of feudal society in Europe are entirely lacking.

*631 As for the existence of a hierarchy among the amghars and the
*634 kaids, it will suffice for us to recall that the grades that we have
174 been led to distinguish between them depend solely on their power
171 and the importance of the small states that they have conquered; masters of a canton, tribe, confederation, their rank /361/ is thus determined by the social structure of the country, which is itself

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
•174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

*631 It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*634 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
578 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
726 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
175 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

*631 /361 cont./
*634 until the Krupp cannon permitted opening a breach in the walls
578 of his casbah. We have seen in the same way that Si ᶜOmar
726 Seksawi would not have triumphed in his little domain except by
175 having the kaid Chtittihi assassinated and by constructing in the middle of his lands, on the site /362/ of the razed villages, a command fortress.

*631 These features suffice to show us how the power of the
*634 amghars and of the kaids of the Atlas is distinguished from that
•174 of the feudal lords of the West. The resemblances, when they
171 exist, hardly concern anything but the life of the chief himself; the institutions that in our Middle Ages bind the lord to his king or subjects are almost entirely lacking here.

If, nevertheless, the political state of the south of Morocco, which is only a rough outline of our feudality, had to be compared with that of Europe before the formation of the great States, and more complete analogies sought, it is doubtless with the Ireland, the Scotland, and the Germany of the upper Middle Ages, perhaps with Corsica, Sardinia, Albania up to the modern period, that it would be necessary to try to multiply the comparisons. The primitive institutions of tribes, the alliances of families and cantons, the oligarchic constitutions of the small republics existed there for a long time on the confines of the Roman Empire, as in our day in Berbérie /Barbary/: chiefs were born there, whose authority was very weak originally, who could not grow without fighting against the assemblies. Comparisons that it is not appropriate for us to make between these various regions could perhaps show that primitive societies separated across time and space are nevertheless, in the course of their transformations, guided by the same principles, and that laws stronger than men, most often unknown to them, lead their acts into the same paths.

*631 XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs. -- Let us not be surprised that the Berbère /Berber/ chief whose family, thanks to favorable circumstances, has succeeded so rapidly in dominating all the tribes that the eyes can embrace from a summit of the Atlas is, in spite of his apparent strength, threatened by redoubtable perils.